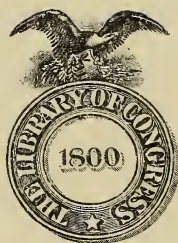


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MR. BIDLACK, OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN REPLY TO

THE POLITICAL ATTACKS THAT HAD BEEN MADE UPON THE
NOMINEES OF THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION,

AND IN DEFENCE OF

THE YOUNG HICKORY:



DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JUNE 4, 1844.

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SPEECH.

In the House of Representatives, June 4, 1844—
On the civil and diplomatic appropriation bill, in reply to the political remarks that had been introduced into the debate by the gentlemen who preceded him.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I concur most fully with the gentlemen who have expressed the opinion that the custom of making political speeches in this hall would be more "honored in the breach than in the observance." During the whole session I have refrained from it, although constantly provoked to it by the course of some of my whig colleagues. They have omitted no opportunity, whether appropriate or not, to bring forward whatever they supposed might have a political effect here or in the country, and have flooded the State of Pennsylvania, not only with what they have said, but with much that was not said. Those speeches, thus written out and published both in the English and German language, have loaded the mails during the whole session.

As much of this political ammunition has been fired at the wrong mark, I could have been contented to let it pass, and looked on rather in pity than in anger at these abortive efforts, if my colleague from Philadelphia [Mr. MORRIS] had not again entered the list, and attempted, as I think, to place the democracy of Pennsylvania in a false position. The discharges which they have made at that exalted and pure statesman, Mr. Van Buren, have either passed him like the idle wind, or fallen harmless at his feet; and they are welcome to pick up this lost ammunition and throw it at the nominee of the Baltimore convention, if they would only wait until the business for which the people sent us here is transacted. After the adjournment of Congress, let the presidential campaign open; and then, if they are for a war of words, we shall be ready to meet them to their heart's content, and to carry it into Africa, or, at least, into Texas and Oregon. Come on, then, McDuff. From the demonstrations witnessed here yesterday and to-day, it is plain the State of Pennsylvania is to be the battle-field in the approaching contest. In order to afford an excuse

for a political speech, one of my colleagues [Mr. POLLOCK] has offered an amendment to a section of the bill now under consideration. This amendment, in itself, is of no importance, because it merely directs one of our officers to do what he would do, as a matter of course, without any direction; and, in fact, it is already the law. Upon it, however, another colleague from Philadelphia has made a speech of about five minutes, devoted to an attack upon the Baltimore convention and upon Governor Polk, one of the nominees of that convention. Judging from past experience, it may be expected that this five-minutes speech will, in a few days, expand over eight pages of a pamphlet, and be upon the wings of the wind on its way into every district of Pennsylvania, and perhaps into other States. Under such circumstances, silence on the part of the democratic portion of the delegation would no longer be a virtue, it would be a neglect of duty. While the gentleman from Philadelphia was pouring out the vials of his wrath upon the unoffending head of our candidate, because he had received a unanimous nomination for the presidency, without managing, bargaining, and begging for it for twenty years, he showed his discretion, if not his courage, in letting the candidate for the vice presidency pass *sub silentio*. He knew that, where Mr. Dallas was known, he would be gnawing a file.

He knew, also, that the blood of Dallas, as well as "the blood of Douglass, could defend itself." No votes could be made in his district, by an encounter in that quarter. All our whig friends who have followed up the example set them by the gentleman from Philadelphia, have shown the same disposition to quarrel with Governor Polk, and the convention that nominated him. They seem really out of all kind of patience: indeed, sir, they are so cross, morose, and petulant under their disappointment, that they are really unpleasant to one another, and every one associated with them. And from what arises this disappointment? I will tell you, sir. It is not so much because Mr. Van Buren was not nominated, as because they have been disappointed in their fond, but ill-founded hopes, that the convention would

make no nomination at all. When they saw the honest difference of opinion exhibited for several days in that convention, they forgot that it was composed of intelligent, honest, high-minded, and patriotic democrats, who, while they claimed the right (which should never be denied) of urging their favorites by all honorable means, would never endanger their principles through mere preference for men. They were democrats, who could say of their favorites, "not that I love Caesar less, but that I love Rome more." The delegates went there determined to make a nomination, and not to go behind the record, after it was made. In all this the whigs were disappointed. They had laid the flattering unction to their souls, that it would be otherwise. They predicted it while we were all gathered around that astonishing telegraph which communicates intelligence with such lightning speed; and when, as they stood upon the parapet of the Capitol, and saw their predictions falsified by the hand-writing upon the wall, they felt that they were "gone coons;" for nothing could outrun the gallant Polk, unless it was the electricity upon Professor Morse's telegraphic wires. They knew that, however, expert Mr. Clay was at the game of *brag*, he never got along well with the old Pennsylvanian game called *poke*. Under such circumstances, Mr. Chairman, we must make allowance for their testiness and peevishness, and bear it with gentlemanly courtesy. It would have been just so if Mr. Van Buren, or any of the other distinguished individuals named for the office, had been nominated. They must feel conscious we could beat Mr. Clay with any of them; and when I take into consideration the manner in which they have abused and misrepresented Mr. Van Buren, and the means by which they defeated him in 1840, if it will afford them any satisfaction, and alleviate their feelings, I, for one, will confess to them, it would have pleased me a little better, under all the circumstances, to have beaten them with Mr. Van Buren than with any one else, unless it was Pennsylvania's favorite son; but, as I have always contended, we could distance them with any of our distinguished men, even my good nature will not permit me now to give them hopes of anything but defeat.

The gentleman from Philadelphia [Mr. MORRIS] holds out some encouragement to his whig friends, by his liberal promises as to what Pennsylvania will do. Does the gentleman calculate upon the whole Keystone by an estimate of what his own district will do? Will he undertake to promise a majority for Mr. Clay in that? No, sir; no. A gentleman who has been there since the nomination, informs me that Polk, Dallas, and Muhlenberg, will carry it by a thousand or fifteen hundred majority. Will my colleague, who offered this amendment, undertake to promise a majority in his district? If he does, sir, he will calculate without his host, and promise what, in my opinion, cannot be done.

[Here Mr. B. was interrupted by a side-bar remark from Mr. SCHENCK of Ohio.]

Sir, (said Mr. B.,) if the gentleman from Ohio wishes a little notice, he shall not be overlooked. I will pay my respects to him, although it may be as difficult to find him, or what he says, as it was for him to find General Harrison, and what he said, and where he went, although the gentleman told us yesterday he went with him at the time he escaped from his keepers. I will own I did not pay much attention to the gentleman's remarks. I am willing to listen to an opponent as long as I believe he is serious and candid in what he says; but when he be-

gins with special pleading that is unworthy of the occasion, I am under no obligation to be a "good listener." According to my recollection, however, of what he did say, he undertook to explain, if not to mystify, some of the numerous declarations of General Harrison against a protective tariff. But, sir, I have before me a letter from General Harrison, written at Zanesville, Ohio, to Messrs. Foster, Taylor, and others, which shall be put upon the record where the gentleman and his whig friends shall not escape from it. It shall meet them, and stare them in the face, like Banquo's ghost, upon every wall, and at every cross-road, whenever they attempt to frighten the people from the support of Governor Polk, on account of his tariff notions. In that letter General Harrison says: "*I am for supporting the compromise act; and never will agree to its being altered or repealed.*" And yet, sir, the gentleman from Ohio and my colleagues, and the whigs generally, could vote for him at a time when there was an occasion for a repeal, but are horrified and amazed at the bare idea of supporting a candidate whose sentiments they allege, without proof, are similar, when there is no necessity of a repeal, or in any way submitting it to his decision—it being already repealed!

The friends of the tariff want no change of the law now, as they did then; it has already been changed by democratic votes in spite of Mr. Clay and some of his friends, who wanted to keep the question open for political effect and political capital. The executive will have nothing to do with it. The law is signed and safe from all control until changed by legislative action. The case was far different in 1840, when the whigs voted for General Harrison with this letter before them. It is therefore to be hoped we shall hear no more hypocritical canting against Governor Polk, on the score of the tariff. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SUMMERS] who addressed us this morning seemed to be apprehensive the wind would be taken out of their sail, and their thunder silenced from an intimation which I had given him in private conversation. That honorable gentleman has to-day, in our hearing, expressed much earnest solicitude for the tariff of 1842; but the friends of that law would have been more obliged to him, if he had given them the *benefit of his vote* in its favor in the last Congress, when he had an opportunity to do so. May they not say to him and others who voted against the law—"timeo Danaos et dona ferentes? Will not the noble and patriotic statesman of Lindenwald say the same thing to those whigs who now seem so anxious to shed crocodile tears in his behalf? The same gentleman complains most piteously of the manner in which the convention made the nomination; and joins the member from Tennessee in saying that the people of that State will not believe in it without a certificate from General Jackson. Don't trouble yourselves, kind friends: when our candidate gets his certificate of election, it will make no difference whether he is nominated or not. Much complaint is made also by several gentlemen, on account of the vetoes of the present executive. But these complaints, as I contended in the last Congress, were without foundation; for, before the election, they stole Mr. Tyler's anti-bank thunder for their own use, where it was pleasant to hear it; and they could not expect him to renounce it or smother it, when they had no further use for it. He was too honest and independent for that.

It is to be hoped they will profit by experience,

and hereafter act upon the Newtonian maxim, that "honesty is the best policy;" and if they want a national bank, go for it "*eo nomine*." It is true, Mr. Webster has called it an "obsolete idea." But if he could find as many reasons for changing his opinion on the question of a national bank, as some others have, he might follow the example of Mr. Clay, and change back again. If Mr. Clay could be elected, no one doubts that a national bank would be one of his first measures. But the gentleman from Ohio, by his interruption, has drawn me off into a long digression, and caused me to neglect my colleague, who I hope will excuse me. He has also interrupted the train of remark which I have hastily marked out. As this debate has been sprung upon us as if from an ambush, and has been to me entirely unexpected, the committee will, of course, pardon any want of method which they may discover. Sir, while I have the honor of giving a passing recognition to those of my whig friends who have preceded me in this debate, I may as well take this occasion to make my bow to the only remaining one, the gentleman from Tennessee, [Mr. PEYTON,] who has just taken his seat. I am admonished that the sands of my hour are wasting, and I must be brief with him. As an offset to his revilings and bitter lamentations over the conduct of his nullifying democratic colleagues in the Tennessee legislature, I will refer him to my tribulations with his anti-masonic and whig friends in the Pennsylvania legislature in 1835, when they forced the monster bank upon us *no less volens*, in a bill under the title of "a bill to continue the improvements of the State, and for other purposes." If he looks at the journal, he will see I had a vast amount of trouble in that matter, as well as on the committee raised by his political friends to investigate the evils of masonry—a fraternity entered into by Mr. Clay as a kind of "youthful indiscretion." And then there is the buckshot war. But to be serious: has the gentleman ever heard how, in this case, to carry out the doctrine of the proclamation to treat the elections as if they had never been held, a whig or anti-masonic secretary of the Commonwealth presented to the legislature such returns as he fleeced proper to present alone, instead of all the returns? Has he heard of one of his leaders standing up on the representative floor and urging the elections of two speakers? Has he seen his political friends in the Senate, pursuing a course which brought our institutions to the very verge of ruin? Has he seen the calm and deliberate conduct of a body of democrats assembled under the title of the "committee of safety," who boldly stepped forward between the leaders of the government party and the indignation of an excited populace? Has he heard of the armed occupation of Harrisburg, the prevalence of anarchy in the capitol for some thirteen days at least? The prostration of all the plans of his party by the patriotic conduct of the seceding members, and the final restoration of sound legislation have all been noticed in their turn by the gentleman from Tennessee? And does he stand up here and reproach us with the "*dangerous tendencies of democratic principles*," and thank God that "his party is not like other parties?" Does he not remember that his party, or the leaders of it, did all this with the avowed purpose of holding the government three years longer, in effect if not in name? It is proven that they designed to elect a United States senator, to deprive the governor-elect of all patronage, if not to strip him of all vestiges

of office by the slow process of contesting the gubernatorial election; it is proved that they designed to create new offices for the partisans holding over. And yet the gentleman claims for his party that they are exclusively the friends of law and order! But I cannot be detained further on this point, or stop to notice the course of his party in the State of Ohio.

If the honorable member is still determined, in a spirit of self-righteousness, to consider the democrats of Tennessee, worse than the whigs of Pennsylvania, I will throw in the whole of this "buckshot war," which, he will remember, commenced in an official proclamation from a whig secretary of the Commonwealth, calling upon all the faithful whigs to "*treat the election as though it had never been held*."

Is the gentleman willing to quit even on this score now? If he is, I will proceed to another point, with the passing remark, that pharisaic complacency in a party, like the same spirit in an individual, is no very commendable virtue, and it is very frequently mortified by a faithful recurrence to facts.

The next difficulty is, that we have in our ranks certain distinguished individuals, who once were federalists, and belonged to the gentleman's own party—*mirabile dictu!* This, it must be admitted, was a grievous offence; but will not my friend, in the amiability of his nature, make some little allowance for "youthful indiscretions?" For one, I give them credit for turning from the error of their ways, into which circumstances of education had led them, and consider them more excusable than Mr. Clay, who was brought up a democrat, and turned federalist. The same gentleman contends that Governor Polk and his friends did not expect the nomination. Sir, is this any crime, or offence, if true? But upon this point my friend is at issue with the respectable organ of his party in this city, as will be seen by an article in the National Intelligencer of this morning. I leave him and the Intelligencer to settle the dispute. No one will expect me to follow him in his efforts to elevate Mr. Clay, in the character of an eagle, into the regions of fancy above and beyond the clouds, where he scorched his wings so suddenly in the rays of the sun, as to fall upon terra firma in the character of race-horse.)

It was an unfortunate comparison that was made by the gentleman from Tennessee, of the candidate of the democratic party to a pony, and of his own to a successful racer, ("*Eclipse*,") when it was remembered that, as often as that "*Eclipse*" had been brought into the field, he had been distanced; and on one occasion, in 1840, was even deemed unworthy to enter the course at all. [Laughter.]

Gentlemen on the other side were very much astonished that democrats should be induced to vote for a man who, according to their own showing, entertained the same principles and opinions as their own boasted leaders. Gov. Polk was in favor of a reveue tariff; and it was the true democratic doctrine. They wanted only a tariff for revenue, with proper discriminations.

He (Mr. B.) was in favor of such a rate of duties as would keep up a competition between the foreign producer and the domestic fabricator, to such an extent that neither the one nor the other would have it in his power to impose upon the consumer. This he considered good and sound democratic doctrine. Yes, and for this he had the highest authority in the letter which had been read to-day from Gen. Jack-

son himself. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PERRY] had said that Gov. Polk had never been known to swerve a hair's breadth from the doctrines of General Jackson, and he took it for granted, therefore, that he would still stand up to them.

Gov. Polk would be found a satisfactory candidate to the whole democracy of the Union; and, sir, I have already heard the first gun of rejoicing from the "star of the North"—the county of Columbia, in my district; which is good for a thousand majority for the democratic ticket. This handbill from there says: "Now, by St. Paul, the work goes bravely on." It closes by saying:

"The nominations have sent terror and dismay into the ranks of whigery. They find that all their 'cut and dry' thunder against Mr. Van Buren is now *unavailable*, and consternation appears to have taken hold of them. Poor fellows! a Waterloo defeat awaits them. So mote it be."

The same feeling no doubt exists in the other counties of the district, and throughout the State. The democracy will rally to the contest from every hill and valley, and meet their opponents with something like the following inquiries, concerning their candidate:

If Clay received in 1824 a less number of votes for President than any other candidate before the people, what ground have you for inferring that he is now an "available" man?

If, in 1828, the people kicked out John Q. Adams, and with him said Clay by a majority of nearly 200,000, what reason have you for imagining that he has gained popularity?

If, in 1832, as a nominee of a regular national convention, Clay received 39 out of 361 votes, how much favor must he at that time have gained in the eyes of the people? Must he not have been behind between 500,000 to 600,000 votes?

If, in 1840, at the great Harrisburg convention, he was literally beaten off the course by a man far inferior in many respects to his Clayship, how much popularity had he then acquired to render him available?

If 23 States have, since 1840, gone in favor of the democracy—and some of them the strongest, such as Ohio with 20,000 whig majority, and New York with some twenty more—how much has Mr. Clay gained since 1840?

If, in the "banner State," where Clay resides, the whigs have come within an ace of defeat at the last election, how can you expect to elevate him to the presidency?

Sir, our opponents will find it a difficult task to answer these interrogatories even to their own satisfaction; and they will not be able to keep up their present game of *brag*—they will have to give it up, and strike their colors to our standard bearers, whose claims I have not time to set forth as I could wish. Those wishing information of the character and views of James K. Polk, will find them delineated in the Democratic Review for May, 1838; and a notice of Mr. Dallas in the same work for February, 1844. Those notices have recently been republished, and will be in the hands of all who are desirous of information in relation to the distinguished individuals destined to be elected to the presidency and vice presidency of the United States.

It will there be seen that our standard bearer in our march to certain victory, is the bosom-friend and neighbor of General ANDREW JACKSON, the chosen associate and disciple of the veteran of the Hermitage. He is a democrat without fear and above reproach, unsullied by a stain, either in his private or public character. In the most fearful and

trying periods of our political history, he distinguished himself as a pure patriot, and an able statesman. During the memorable "*panic session*" of Congress, when the United States Bank convulsed the country by its war upon the people and their representatives, Col. Polk gallantly bore the brunt of the battle, and emerged victoriously from the conflict. As chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, he was peculiarly exposed to the malevolent assaults of the money power; and never did man in a similar emergency acquit himself with greater ability and firmness. In the responsible position of Speaker of the national House of Representatives, he also won golden opinions from all men. He was subsequently made the candidate of the democracy of Tennessee for the office of governor, and with an overwhelming majority against his party, he succeeded in overcoming all opposition, and carried the republican flag to an honorable victory. Col. Polk is familiarly known, throughout the length and breadth of the Union, as one of the ablest public debaters that ever sat in her parliamentary councils, and his reports in Congress also testify to his commanding talents as a writer. A report made by him during the Jackson bank war, sustaining that great measure of the illustrious hero, the removal of the deposits, has attained a high rank among our national State papers, and won for its distinguished author imperishable renown. He is in all his relations, public and private, wholly unexceptionable to the American democracy, and worthy to occupy the highest office in the gift of a free people.

It will also be found that the distinguished candidate for the vice presidency, Mr. Dallas, is a native of Philadelphia, and the elder son of Alexander J. Dallas, Secretary of the Treasury under Mr. Madison. As early as 1813, Mr. Dallas accompanied Albert Gallatin, minister to St. Petersburg, as his confidential secretary, under the appointment of Mr. Madison. In August, 1814, Mr. Dallas returned to the United States, bearing the despatches from the American commissioners then holding their sessions at Ghent. In 1817, he was appointed deputy attorney general for the city of Philadelphia, and soon gave evidence of all those legal adornments that have since won their way to enviable renown. Having been among the first in Pennsylvania to espouse the cause of General Jackson, that illustrious patriot, on his election to the presidency, appointed him district attorney of the United States. In the year 1828, he was chosen to the mayoralty of the city of Philadelphia. In the year 1831, Mr. Dallas was elected to the United States Senate, in which enlightened body he ranked as one of its ablest and most accomplished debaters. At the close of his senatorial term, he was appointed by Governor Wolf attorney general of Pennsylvania, which he occupied until Mr. Ritner's election in 1835, when he of course withdrew. On the elevation of Mr. Van Buren, he was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Russia, at which court he remained until 1839.

The whig papers, with admirable consistency, are now representing him as too conservative, because he obeyed instructions on the bank question, although, at the time of the alteration of the constitution of the State of Pennsylvania, they considered him an *ultra* democrat of the deepest dye!

My colleague [Mr. MORRIS] is endeavoring to create the impression that Governor Polk is in favor of free trade, at the same time that the very evidence to which he refers, goes to prove him an

advocate for a revenue tariff. He complains that our candidate is an advocate for adhering to the spirit of the compromise, of which Mr. Clay was the boasted author, and which he advocated in the Senate, as late as 1841, subsequent to which time the present law was passed by democratic votes, in spite of the exertions of some of Mr. Clay's bosom friends against it.

See his speech at the extra session, 1841:

"Carry out the spirit of the compromise act. Look to revenue alone for the support of government; do not raise the question of protection, which I had hoped had been put to rest. There is no necessity of protection for protection."

Mr. Clay, in a letter addressed last summer to the publishers of the "Tennessee Agriculturist," held out this pledge to the "free trade" politicians:

"I am so far a friend to FREE TRADE as to think that within the limits of the Union it should be entirely unfettered, and perfectly equal between all interests and all parts of our country."

On a still later occasion, Mr. Clay said:

"My opinion that there is no danger hereafter of a high tariff, is founded on the gratifying fact that our manufactures have taken a deep root. Even now, some branches of them are able to maintain, in distant markets, successful competition with rival foreign manufacturers."

In order to disabuse the public mind of the impression which the whigs are endeavoring to make that Henry Clay is the especial friend and advocate of a protective tariff, let us refer to his opinions on that subject, delivered at various times, and in various ways, since he last came before the people for their suffrages;

Here are the extracts:

"I never was in favor of duties being so high as to amount to a prohibition of articles on which they are laid. I have thought it best for all interests that there should be competition."

Again:

"A tariff for that purpose (revenue) ought to be so adjusted as to afford reasonable encouragement to our domestic manufacturers. To impart to it that character it should be MODERATE. I was not in Congress in 1828, and therefore did not vote for the tariff of that year. The duties in many instances imposed by the tariff were extravagantly high."

Again, in a letter to F. S. Bronson, dated October 13, 1843, Mr. Clay remarks:

"After my return to Congress, in 1831, my efforts were directed to the modification and REDUCTION of the rates of duty contained in the act of 1823. The act of 1832 greatly reduced and modified them; and the act of 1833, commonly called the compromise act, still further reduced and modified them. The act which passed at the extra session of 1841, which I supported, was confined to free articles. I had resigned my seat in the Senate when the act of 1842 passed." "If there be any EXCESSES or DEFECTS in it, (of which I have not here the means of judging,) THEY OUGHT TO BE CORRECTED."

Here is an extract from a letter by Mr. Clay at New Orleans, to a committee of his whig friends in Virginia, dated January 23, 1844:

"The prohibition of the fabrics of foreign countries would transfer the monopoly to the home manufacturers in the United States. The true interests of the consumers are best promoted by a competition between the foreign and the national supply. The inevitable tendency of that competition is to reduce prices, as all experience has demonstrated."

In a letter to Mr. Meriwether, of Georgia, dated October 2, 1843, Mr. Clay held the following language:

"I did not vote for the tariff of 1823, for which, however, Mr. VAN BUREN, Col. Benton, Col. Johnson, Mr. Wright, and others of our opponents, did vote. And it is remarkable, that from that period, MY EXERTIONS IN CONGRESS HAVE BEEN DIRECTED TO THE REDUCTION AND MODERATION OF TARIFFS. Thus, in 1831, I supported that tariff which GREATLY MODIFIED AND RE-

DUCE the tariff of 1828 inasmuch that it was supposed by reasonable men that it would or ought to SATISFY THE NULLIFIERS OF SOUTH CAROLINA. The next year, 1833, I brought forward the compromise. ~~It~~ I NEVER WAS IN FAVOR OF WHAT I REGARDED AS A HIGH TARIFF. NO MORE REVENUE SHOULD BE LEVIED THAN IS NECESSARY TO AN ECONOMICAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT. ~~It~~ I SHOULD HAVE PREFERRED THAT THE COMPROMISE IN ALL ITS PARTS [uniform duties of 20 per cent.] COULD HAVE BEEN ADHERED TO."

From the Savannah Republican, the leading Clay paper of Georgia.

"WE DENY THAT MR. CLAY, OR THE WHIGS OF GEORGIA, WHOSE CANDIDATE HE IS, SEEK FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PROTECTIVE TARIFF; BUT MR. CLAY ADHERES TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE COMPROMISE ACT."

Time will not permit a reference to all the evidences which go to show a design on the part of the whigs, sanctioned and aided by Mr. Clay himself, to endeavor to appear "all things to all men." Might we not well apply to him the poetic language which the gentleman from Tennessee could not remember this morning? It runs thus:

"He wires in and wires out,
And leaves the people still in doubt,
Whether the snake that made the track,
Was going South, or coming back."

These extracts, which I have presented, I intend to place upon record for future reference; and if any of them are not genuine, let them be corrected now. I pause for a reply. If there are none to deny their correctness now, let them "forever after hold their peace." The only one I have ever heard questioned, is the extract from the speech in the Senate; and that I have altered to conform to what the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. WHITE] contends for, not stopping to cavil as to the difference between the words "principles of the compromise," and spirit of the compromise—or the words "for protection," or "of protection for protection."

I have said, sir, the present law was passed in defiance of the efforts of some of Mr. Clay's friends, who wanted to keep the question open for political capital and political effect. I shall not be required to bring proof of this to satisfy members who were in the last Congress. Every one knows the course taken on that question by some of Mr. Clay's friends in the Kentucky delegation, and others. That the law of 1842 was carried by democratic votes, is as well known as that it has been sustained by them in this Congress.

"The present tariff (remarks the Pennsylvanian) is not a 'whig tariff.' It was not passed by a whig party in Congress. It is the tariff of 1842; and had all the democratic members of both Houses voted against it, the bill would have been lost by a majority of over forty against it in the one House, and ten in the other. Without the democratic vote, it could not have been carried; and it is eminently ridiculous to call it a 'whig tariff,' when no less than nine whig senators, and thirty-six whig representatives, cast their votes against its passage, the democratic aid being essential to its success."

The Richmond Whig, the leading Clay paper in Virginia, says:

"The fact that Mr. Clay is more of a free-trade man—advocate as he is, of a wise and reasonable tariff—than Mr. Van Buren, is becoming generally known to the people of the South."

And then goes on to prove it by his letter to Mr. Bronson.

"What said Mr. White of Indiana, a zealous whig, from his place in the Senate? Why, that 'without the votes of the opposition, (democrats) Congress would have to adjourn without giving any revenue to the government. For this aid he thanked them.' The 'whig tariff' was then passed by democratic votes."

"Here was whig patriotism for you! With a majority of forty in the House, and of ten in the Senate, they would, by their own confession, have been compelled to adjourn without the tariff, without providing means to carry on the government, had not the democrats come to the rescue, and saved them; but now, when it seems politic to do so, the same coon! claims all the credit of the measure, and vapors about, puffing and blowing, that it is their tariff—their 'whig tariff'! Theirs, indeed! If party is to claim it at all, it is more properly ours; for without us it would have failed utterly."

In order to show the construction which the whigs themselves have placed upon Mr. Clay's recent speeches at the South, and his recent letters written for that market, permit me to refer to the opinion of senator Rives, in his celebrated letter of the 1st January last. In it may be found the following expression:

"On the subject of the tariff I do not hesitate to say Mr. Clay's *creed*, developed in his recent letters, is in every respect as just, as sound, and unexceptionable as that of Mr. Van Buren, and his *practice* infinitely better. Mr. Clay did not vote for, or approve of the tariff of 1828, consigned to an odious celebrity under the name of the bill of abominations, which Mr. Van Buren and his friends carried by their votes."

See also the letter of Mr. Senator Preston, published in the National Intelligencer of April 16, 1844, to the same effect, as follows:

"Mr. Van Buren has strength enough to beat his friends, but not, as we believe, to beat his adversary. Upon what reason, then, upon what pretext, can our State vote for him, and what is to prevent her from giving that vote to Mr. Clay? The tariff, it is said—the tariff! the tariff! Who that is likely now or hereafter to be elected President of the United States stands nearer to us on this subject than he? Certainly not Mr. Van Buren, or Gen. Cass, or Col. Johnson. He has placed himself on the compromise, which his opinion and his pride of opinion binds him to, and to which—with the advantage of position—he would be strong enough to bind the tariff party."

"For my part, whenever that compromise is tendered in good faith, I think the State is bound on the point of honor, as well as of expediency and sound policy, to accept it; and I know no other President but Mr. Clay, who could bring the legislation of the country to that result."

This brings to my mind the letter of the gentleman from Illinois, called out by one from my colleague, [Mr. IRVIN.] According to the evidence produced by the gentleman from Illinois, [Mr. HARDIN,] while Governor Polk was willing, with Mr. Clay, to range the duties to the rates of the compromise, he was opposed to direct taxes on the one hand, and prohibitory duties on the other. In this Governor Polk not only agreed with the declarations of Mr. Clay, the present whig candidate, but with General Harrison, the candidate of 1840, as I will now prove:

In reply to the letter of H. W. Foster and others, of Zanesville, saying to him that

"If it be your opinion that the American system should be revived, and that a tariff should be laid for the purpose of protecting manufactures and making internal improvements, instead of raising a revenue merely sufficient to meet the wants of the government, we cannot concur with you"

He wrote the following:

"ZANESVILLE, November 2, 1836.

"GENTLEMEN: I had the honor, this moment, to receive your communication of yesterday. I regret that my remarks of yesterday were misunderstood in regard to the tariff system. What I meant to convey was, that I had been a warm advocate for that system upon its first adoption—that I still believe in the benefits it had conferred upon the country; but I certainly never had, nor ever could have, any idea of reviving it. What I said was, that I would not agree to the repeal, as it now stands. In other words, I am for supporting the compromise act, and never will agree to its being altered or repealed."

"In relation to the internal improvement system, I refer you for my sentiments to my letter to the Hon. Sberrod Williams."

"I am, in great haste, with great respect, your fellow-citizen,

"WM. H. HARRISON.

"Messrs. FOSTER, TAYLOR, and others."

These were the sentiments of the whig candidate of 1840, who had, I presume, the hearty support of my colleague; but now, forsooth, he cannot tolerate for a moment the same sentiments in Col. Polk, who really will have nothing to do with the tariff, as I consider the question settled. We have as good a law as we want. This was not the case in 1840. Then we wished a new law passed. My colleague could go for a man who would have voted a repeal of the compromise, but is horrified at the bare idea of supporting a man, who will, if elected really, have nothing to do with the question, as the law is already repealed! This is most admirable consistency: the only way it can be accounted for, is by supposing that my colleague considers the democratic candidate honest and consistent, and that he did not believe his own candidate was.

In order fully to represent the inconsistency of the whig candidate for the presidency, it is thought proper to present the following questions and answers:

Who, just before his recent nomination, traveled through the whole south, electioneering for himself? Henry Clay.

Who declined visiting Indiana previous to the State election in 1842, upon the ground that it might be construed in an electioneering movement on his part? Henry Clay.

Who visited Ohio on the eve of her State elections the same year, for the purpose of addressing two hundred thousand citizens of the Buckeye State? Henry Clay?

Who has fiercely denounced Mississippi repudiation? Henry Clay.

Who was the champion of the late national repudiation act, alias bankrupt law? Henry Clay.

Who was most active and efficient in favor of the annulment of Messrs. Blair & Rives's contract with the Senate? Henry Clay.

Who made a beautiful speech in favor of the Christian religion during the days of the cholera? Henry Clay.

Who was afterwards the chief adviser in the duel which resulted in the death or murder of Jonathan Cilley? Henry Clay.

Who is held up by the whig party as the most consistent, honest, and patriotic public man in the nation? Henry Clay!!!

Who opposed the United States Bank in 1811, as an institution unconstitutional, inexpedient, and dangerous? Henry Clay.

Who has been foremost in denouncing and abusing Andrew Jackson for putting down that institution? Henry Clay.

Who, shortly after our last war with Great Britain, spoke of General Jackson, as one who has shed so much glory on our country—one whose renown constitutes so great a portion of the moral property of the nation? Henry Clay.

Who has been endeavoring for nearly twenty years past to tarnish the hard-earned reputation of the patriot Jackson, "whose renown constitutes so great a portion of the moral property of the nation?" Henry Clay.

Who declared that he would rather war, pestilence, and famine, should visit our shores, than that a military man should be elected President of the United States? Henry Clay.

Who afterwards told his friends that they would do him a particular favor by voting for Gen. Harrison, a military chieftain? Henry Clay.

Who was held up by his friends as the father of the protective system? Who declared that he had cherished that system with paternal fondness? Who quarrelled with democratic senators, because they consented to a reduction of the high tariff in 1832? Henry Clay.

Who now endeavors to convince the Georgians, through Dr. Bronson, that he regards, and has always regarded, a high tariff as eminently dangerous? Henry Clay.

Who disputed the patriotism and veracity of John Quincy Adams a little upwards of twenty years ago? Henry Clay.

Who helped to make John Quincy Adams President, and then accepted office under his administration with the question of veracity between them still unsettled? Henry Clay.

Who joined a masonic society in very early life, and continued a member of it for nearly thirty years, attending its meeting quite frequently during his membership, going through about six degrees, and on one important and interesting occasion acting as orator for the lodge to which he belonged? Henry Clay.

Who wrote a letter to the anti-masons, declaring that, in early life, he became a mason through youthful curiosity, and that he never had a taste for the mysteries of the order? Henry Clay.

Who spoke of Francis P. Blair, the present editor of the Globe, as a personal friend with whom he differed in political sentiment with the deepest pain? Henry Clay.

He must have thought of the maxim of a Roman consul three thousand years ago, concerning the difference between a candidate before and after an election; or that he was only speaking, like Mr. Clay, on some occasions for the South, and had another opinion for the North, as is exemplified in the following verses:

"CLAY—HIS TWO TONES.—The following parody is one of the best hits of the season. Mr. Clay is surely the grandest specimen of a hypocrite in the universe:

From the Goshen (Ia.) Democrat.

ORATOR CLAY.

BY DR. E. W. H. ELLIS.

Orator Clay had *two tones* in his voice;
The one squeaking *thus*, and the other down so;
And *mighty convenient* he found them both—
The squeak at the *top* and the guttural *below*.

Orator Clay looked up to the North;
"I'm for a tariff PROTECTIVE," said he;
But he turned to the South with *his other tone*!
"A tariff for revenue only 't will be?"

Orator Clay to the North, with a squeak:
"I'm for a Bank, for a *National Bank*!"
Orator Clay to his friends at the South:
"I confess my opinions are *not very rank*!"

Orator Clay was a *Mason* of note—
Not a secret, a sign, nor a word, did he slip;
But Orator Clay all his secrets forgot,
And really *couldn't remember the grip*!

Thus to all orders, professions and creeds,
Orator Clay gave a tone of his voice:
Why shouldn't all men of all parties agree,
While every one found him the man of his choice?

Orator Clay was in want of some votes—
Candidates say it's a terrible want;
But in spite of his squeak and his guttural notes,
The people have sworn that "come it" he can't.

This reminds me that Mr. Clay is in favor of a national bank. Does my colleague think this will re-

commend him to the people of Pennsylvania where that institution has been the cause of so much wide spread ruin and misery? No, sir; no. He must look for some other recommendation. Will he find it in the coalition by which he secured the office of Secretary of State; or because, after that coalition, he abandoned all the republican principles that he had previously advocated, and thenceforth became the champion of old fashioned federalism; or because his election would restore all the measures of the administrations of both the elder and younger Adams; or because he took the lead in the attacks upon the generally-approved administration of General Jackson: or that he was the author of the innumerable resolutions in the Senate of the United States, declaring General Jackson guilty of an impeachable offence against the constitution, and urged the adoption of that resolution in the Senate, the only tribunal where such an offence was triable—thus making himself the accuser and judge? Will not the State that gave her fifty thousand for Gen. Jackson, "the noblest Roman of them all," spurn from her his accuser, and rally around the gallant Polk who so nobly defended him? Yes, sir, yes; you may depend upon that. The people of Pennsylvania know right well, sir, the friendship and confidence that always existed between the defender of New Orleans and the present democratic nominee, who is a worthy son of a worthy sire; of whose ancestors it has well been said, they took up arms in defence of their country six months before war was commenced, and did not lay them down until a year after its termination. No wonder that "Young Hickory" is in favor of Oregon and the lone star of Texas too. He comes honestly by his aversion to British encroachments and British aggression.

The gentleman must look in some other quarter for encouragement. Does he see it or hear it in the heartfelt rejoicing on the part of the democracy wherever the nomination has been announced? Does he hear it in the resolutions of confirmation passed in his own city by the largest meeting ever convened in Independence square?

Allow me, sir, for the benefit of the whigs in general, and my colleague in particular, to read some of those resolutions:

"Resolved, That in the proceedings of the Baltimore convention we have beheld the summer storm which purifies the atmosphere, succeeded by the bursting forth of the glorious sun, the harbinger of a bright and cloudless day.

"Resolved, That we do cordially accept and confirm the nominations made by that convention, feeling assured that they will be hailed with hearty and enthusiastic approbation throughout the Union—the nominees being statesmen of approved public integrity and private worth, well calculated to call forth and concentrate the votes of the great democratic party, and do honor to its choice by an able and faithful discharge of the important duties which we are willing to confide in their hands."

These are the sentiments that will spread like wild fire throughout the whole expanse of this wide republic, until the whole democratic family shall be warmed up to vigorous efforts, which will result in certain victory. Is the gentleman encouraged by the thunder of the first gun from old democratic Berks, proclaiming that old Berks will surpass all her former efforts, and pledging the Keystone State for 25,000 majority?

Does he find any encouragement in knowing that Berks, the residence of Mr. Muhlenburg, the well deserved popular candidate for governor, and the bosom friend of Jackson and Polk, will itself give 4,000 or 5,000 majority?

My colleague sees cause of rejoicing in the alleged

want of enthusiasm with which he thinks he discovers this nomination has been received. He must "have optics keen." Does he infer it by contraries? Has he not read the reverse in all the papers from our State which have reached us since the nomination was made? Can he not read it in the papers from other States?

The Democratic Union, a spirited and efficient paper at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, says:

"Our cause is just—Our union is complete.

"The nominations of Polk and Dallas are received by the democratic press throughout the country, with expressions of universal delight. Never, within our political experience, have we witnessed a more general burst of enthusiasm."

The veteran and accomplished Ritchie of the Richmond Enquirer, thus nobly vouches for the Old Dominion:

"Mr. Polk's nomination has been received at Richmond with enthusiasm. It heals all divisions; unites our party with bands of iron. It thwarts every hope which the whigs had indulged of discord and divisions. It lasts the election of Mr. Clay, and saves our country from the sceptre of the dictator. Mr. Polk is true to all our republican principles, and he is the friend of Texas. We shall go into the encounter with renovated spirits, and with indomitable energies. He will carry Virginia by thousands, and the Union by an overwhelming majority."

The Washington Spectator, (Mr. Calhoun's organ,) thus declares its satisfaction:

"Although Mr. Polk's nomination was most unexpected by us—as indeed it must have been to most of our readers—yet we hail it with the most cordial and sincere approbation. We hail it as the first fruits of that harmony, concert, and thorough union, which are returning to our party, and under whose influence we shall go forth to battle, animated and strengthened with the conviction, that under these blessed auspices we can triumphantly elect him."

The New York Plebeian, one of the leading organs of Mr. Van Buren, in the Empire State, expresses itself perfectly satisfied, and says:

"Thus we see that our candidate for the presidency has filled various honorable stations in the councils of the nation, and the highest office in the gift of the people of his State. And he is destined shortly to be elevated to the highest of all earthly stations. Mr. Polk's private character is as pure as his public life has been exalted; and the country does not furnish a man of more pure and steadfast devotion to the great and fundamental principles of our republican government than James K. Polk, the personal and political friend of Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren."

The Globe magnanimously sacrifices all its predilections in favor of Mr. Van Buren on the altar of the common good, and proclaims its high satisfaction with the nominations of Polk and Dallas.

The Pennsylvania unrolls the flag of the regular nominees with the remark, that—

"There are no better men—none more truly democratic, honest, and courageous—none more free from stain, or more unassailable by calumny."

The Pennsylvania Argus, a most zealous and efficient Cass paper heretofore, has now, with its accustomed ability and energy, nailed the nomination to its mast head. The same may be said of every democratic paper which has come to my notice; but as I have no more before me, I cannot refer to them: while, on the other hand, at least one whig paper in Pennsylvania, the "Luminary" has deserted Mr. Clay, and prominent whigs in Pennsylvania have *l'aveirise*.

For the purpose of showing how this nomination will be received everywhere, take the following example. When Mr. Melville was addressing the immense ratification in New York, he said:

"If we do but half as much for the cause as the cause will do for us, we will most assuredly triumph. [Cheers.] Let us go into this contest heart

and hand; with an inveterate spirit of determination that causes its opponents to give ground. We do not recognise the existence of any such word as 'fail.' [Cheers.] I have carefully examined the democratic dictionary, the last edition, 1844; and there is no such word as 'fail' in it. [Laughter, and tremendous cheering.] To use a strong Saxon idiom, I feel it in my very bones that we will beat them—[terrific cheering.] We will establish a permanent democratic ascendancy, under our chosen standard bearers, Polk and Dallas—[great cheering.]—the accomplished Pennsylvanian, and the young hickory tree of the great and growing West. [Great cheers.] The old Keystone has never furnished the Union with either President or Vice President, and it causes her to feel badly, and she cannot avoid complaining. But let her be easy and contented. She should not complain, for she is going to furnish one now. [Cheers.] As for James K. Polk, the next President of the United States, we, the unterrified democracy of New York, will re-baptize him; we will give him a name such as Andrew Jackson won in the baptism of fire and blood at New Orleans; we will rechristen him. Hereafter he shall be known by the name that we now give him—it is Young Hickory. [Here the cheering was deafening, and continued for some moments. A voice—"you're a good twig of Old Hickory too"—laughter, and renewed cheering.] We have had one old hickory tree. Its trunk is yet green and undecayed. Sixteen millions of Americans have reposed under its shade in peace and happiness. It is yet vigorous—but it cannot live forever. And now, to take its place, is springing up at its very side a tall and noble sapling. It imbibes its nourishment from the same soil. It flourishes in the same atmosphere. It springs from the same staunch old democratic stock. It is heart of oak and sound to the core. It grew originally upon the same Carolinian ground. Like it, it was early transplanted to the West. There it has struck its root wide and deep. It will yet be cradled in the tempest and rocked by the storm. Storm and tempest will alike beat against it in vain. Its growth cannot be checked. It is destined to reach a correspondent elevation with the parent stem.

"We and our children will yet live in prosperity under the broad branches of this one young hickory tree. On the 4th day of March next, that young hickory will be transplanted by the people to the people's house at Washington; and you and I, and all of us, will assist in that transplanting. [Enthusiastic and long-continued cheering followed this very happy burst.] We are going into this fight on the great and fundamental principle of a philosopher—greater than the groves of the academy can boast—a native-born, homespun, and backwoods philosopher—Davy Crockett. [Roars of laughter.] The principle that he has given to the world has the advantage of combining in itself the sum and essence of all practical wisdom: "Be always sure you are right, then go ahead." We are sure that we are right; are we not? [Terrific cheering.] Well, then, we are right, and we are going ahead; and all the federalism and whigery in the land cannot stop us. [Cheers.] The indomitable democracy of New York have, by this overwhelming demonstration, set an example to the whole Union; and we call upon the democracy everywhere to respond to it in like spirit and in like manner. We now proclaim from what is left of the State of Maine—what Webster and Ashburton, and other highly

respectable gentlemen, have left of it—[groans]—to Georgia, and from the Atlantic to the farthest confines of Oregon and Texas, that we are united, and once more stand shoulder to shoulder. [Great cheering.] Past divisions are healed. Former animosities buried and forgotten. We are all brethren. Our only aim—our only endeavor in this coming contest will be to emulate each other in penetrating farthest, and striking deepest into the ranks of the common enemy. [Cheers.] Our signal of battle is identical in spirit, and almost in language, with that which animated the haughty islanders at Waterloo, when they rushed to that final and irresistible charge that sealed the fate of Europe. Let our war-cry echo far and wide. The democratic war-cry is, Up, democrats, and at them!”

But the gentleman from Illinois finds some encouragement in the fact that Gov. Polk has not always been successful in his own State. Does the gentleman forget that Mr. Clay has often tried, and always been repudiated. He read also to show that Mr. Polk was no duelist; but could act with Christian forbearance. Sir, can the gentleman imagine this is to be a disqualification? Must a candidate be set aside as unworthy because his hands are not red with the blood of his victims, and because he is not under bonds to keep the peace? There is no more necessity of a candidate for the presidency being a duelist than there is for his being a gambler. The gentleman must look for more substantial objections against Gov. Polk than the insinuation that he never endeavored to commit murder, or encouraged it in others. Shade of the murdered Cilley! has it come to this? The gentlemen from Illinois and from Tennessee, who also allude to it, will perhaps next object to Mr. Polk that he is not a gambler, and has never desecrated these halls with oaths of profanity; and has never, in a passion, said to a member, “Go home, God damn you! where you belong,” as Mr. Clay said to Gov. Polk. Gov. Polk will now take the advice, and go to the white house.

But it is said our candidate must not be elected because some one was opposed to his nomination for the vice presidency, and expressed an unfavorable opinion of him for that office as compared with another candidate. But what were the opinions expressed of Mr. Clay by a circular issued by the whigs themselves, which I promised to refer to?

In 1840, (says the Democratic Banner,) the federalists of New York and the New England States were so well assured that Henry Clay never could be elected President, that they addressed “a circular to the whig party,” from which I take the following extract:

“Herein the friends of Mr. Clay have made a fatal mistake. Their love for him they forget that a battle is to be fought. Enthusiasm will not always overpower SUPERIORITY OF NUMBERS. If it could, Mr. Clay would have been President long ago.

“If Mr. Clay runs, he will meet with opposition from old party antagonists whose heads have grown gray in political squinty.

“The old JACKSON MEN will oppose him.

“The violent ANTI-MASONS will oppose him.

“The Irishmen, who have already denounced him for HIS ATTACK ON O’CONNELL, will oppose him.

“The enemies of the UNITED STATES BANK will oppose him.

“The WESTERN SQUATTERS will oppose him.

“The southern STATE RIGHTS MEN will oppose him. So say several leading whig papers in Georgia.)

“Now, in the NAME OF HEAVEN, SHALL WE RUN THE RISK OF THIS OPPOSITION, &c.”

“Now, in the name of Heaven,” can we “swallow” him now any more than we could then?” ex-

claimed a consistent whig who read this article a few days since. Will the gentleman inform the public what Mr. Clay has done since 1840 to produce such a reversion of public sentiment in his favor as it is asserted there has been?

These were the opinions contained in the circular. What are the opinions expressed of Mr. Clay by some of the leading whigs?

General Harrison’s opinion of Henry Clay:

“I will do my duty, even if Mr. Clay is to be benefited by it, from whom I have experienced only UNGENEROUS TREATMENT, IN REQUISIT FOR YEARS OF DEVOTED SERVICE.”

General Harrison’s letter to Mr. Brent, in the winter of 1841:

“I have done him (Mr. Clay) many favors, but he has returned them all with the BLACKEST INGRATITUDE.”

What says Mr. Bela Badger—not Bela, I beg pardon—but another Badger, Mr. George E. Badger?

“Mr. Clay, of Kentucky, was one of the four candidates for President; but, having the lowest number of electoral votes, was excluded from the House. The State from which he came had instructed her members, in the event which had then happened, to support General Jackson; but, under the influence of Mr. Clay, a man of intrigue, and of eloquence, of unbounded ambition, and of talents above mediocrity, these members, with those of other western States, voted for Mr. Adams, and his election was the result. Immediately after his elevation, Mr. Adams appointed Mr. Clay Secretary of State, in power and influence the second station of our government, and generally thought to be an introduction to the first.

“Between these two gentlemen there had been previously neither confidence nor affection; and Mr. Clay had publicly expressed, in language not to be misunderstood, a dislike of Mr. Adam’s political integrity and patriotism.

“Thus, then, as we conceive, it sufficiently appears that Jackson, the man of the people, was, at the last election, defeated, not upon any considerations of comparative merit between Mr. Adams and himself, but in order that Mr. Clay might be Secretary of State, and heir apparent to the presidency. And can it be seriously contended that you ought, or that you properly can, give your sanction to this apostasy from principle—your support to this ambitious project? Because Mr. Clay once forgot his duty, and imposed upon the nation a President whom the nation did not desire, ought you to forget your interests and your rights, offer a reward to treachery, and thus set an example fatal to the fair and equal operation of our constitution?”—Address to the people of North Carolina in 1828, written by Mr. Badger.

Mr. Badger was Secretary of the Navy under General Harrison, and is now one of Mr. Clay’s warmest supporters in North Carolina. What honest principle can bring such men together?

It seems, Mr. Chairman, from the following, there are some whigs who would not condemn a candidate for receiving a nomination as a free-will offering, such as has been tendered to Governor Polk. I quote from the same address to the people of North Carolina:

“Do we not now see this same Henry Clay, forgetful of what belongs to his high station, [aspirations,] assume the character of a TRAVELLING SPEECH-MAKER, haranguing ‘public gatherings’ at New Orleans, Mobile, Savannah, and Charleston—sometimes, it has been said, on the SABBATH DAY—and for what purpose? None other than TO MAKE HIMSELF PRESIDENT! How degrading to the high office to which he aspires! How shocking to the sensibilities of every patriotic American!”

Another opinion of Henry Clay, expressed by the honorable George E. Badger:

“You have seen the Secretary of State challenging to mortal combat a member of Congress for daring, in his place on the floor of the Senate, to examine with freedom, and expose with boldness, the conduct of the secretary. You have seen the same officer, forgetful of what belongs to his high station, ASSUME THE CHARACTER OF A TRAVELLING SPEECH-MAKER, and harangue public gatherings in Kentucky, Pennsylvania and Virginia, boasting of his intrepidity and virtue, and discharging his malignity towards Jackson, sometimes in gross abuse, and sometimes in impious appeals to HEAVEN.”

Opinion expressed by the Boston Atlas (the leading whig paper of Massachusetts) of Henry Clay:

"We supported him [Clay] once for the presidency. AND WOULD DO SO AGAIN WERE WE NOT, IN SO DOING, ALMOST SURE OF DEFEAT. BUT MR. CLAY IS DEFICIENT IN POPULARITY. * * * * * Mr. Clay's influence failed to sustain J. Q. Adams in the presidential chair. With all the efforts made to elect Mr. Clay himself in 1832, he succeeded in obtaining only *forty-nine* electoral votes; and, in the election of 1836, himself and his friends were so well satisfied of his deficiency in popular favor, that they did not attempt to run him at all. Is not THIS DECISIVE EVIDENCE AS TO MR. CLAY'S POPULARITY?"—*The Atlas of Sept. 14, 1838.*

"That Mr. Clay is the chosen candidate of the aristocracy of the whig party, is unquestionable; and it is equally unquestionable that very earnest and zealous efforts will be made to impose him upon the whigs as their candidate. It is also certain that Mr. Clay is not the choice of the democracy of the whig party. Apart from other sufficient reasons, therefore, which we shall give hereafter, the very fact that Mr. Clay is the darling of the aristocratic whigs, or rather the very cause which makes him so, operates, in the nature of things, to prejudice him in the eyes of the democratic whigs, and to lead them to fix their choice upon some other candidate."—*The Atlas, of Nov. 20, 1838.*

Opinion of Henry Clay, expressed by the Hon. Thomas Butler King, a leading whig of Georgia, in 1840.

"He (Mr. Clay) has recently hoisted the flag of a fifty million bank. This is his last great move for the presidency. He says, in language not to be misunderstood, to commercial and manufacturing interests of the North, 'Make me President, and I will give you a bank of fifty millions.' He was the father of the American system, and now seeks to be the father of a national bank. SUCH A PROGENY, LEAGUED WITH SUCH A PARENT, WOULD CONSOLIDATE THE UNION IN AN UNMITIGATED DESPOTISM, OR BREAK IT INTO FRAGMENTS."

Webster's opinion of Mr. Clay.

"Henry Clay has too many heresies about him ever to gain my support."

These opinions from leading men of his own party might be multiplied almost *ad infinitum*. Let us now give a specimen from the declarations of distinguished democrats:

Jefferson's opinion of Mr. Clay.

"Henry Clay is merely a splendid orator, without any valuable knowledge from experience or study, or any DETERMINED PUBLIC PRINCIPLES, founded in political science, either practical or theoretical."

Randolph's opinion of Mr. Clay.

"He is talented, but corrupt. He stinks and shines, and shines and stinks, like a rotten mackerel by moonlight."

Jackson's opinion of Mr. Clay.

"Under such circumstances, how contemptible does this demagogue appear, when he descends from his high place in the Senate, and roams about the country retailing slanders upon the living and the dead."

These opinions might be continued in the same manner; but I forbear, not desiring to disturb too far the self-complacency of my whig friends. I will only refer to the following:

The Eastern Argus hits off the whig nominee for the presidency with scorching accuracy. It describes the following as the traits of character which, in the estimation of the whigs, constitute the *nephus ultra* of "availability":

"A CHRISTIAN who has three or four times shown his bravery by attempting to take away the life of his fellow-men in a *duel*.

"A STATESMAN who is for a high protective tariff in the North, for a horizontal tariff in the middle States, and for free trade in the South.

"A CHIEFTAIN who fights duels, and curses worse than any other man in his State, and who, at the age of 70 years, is under bonds to keep the peace,

A PHILANTHROPIST who, if he cannot have BLACK slaves, is determined to turn his fellow-men into WHITE ones!

"A REPUBLICAN, whose wife and daughters are too good to work in the kitchen.

A DEMOCRAT who, by a base coalition, CHEATED General JACKSON out of his election in 1835.

"A POLITICIAN who joins each and every faction, however discordant their sentiments, and secretly pledges himself to each to carry out his designs.

"A GENTLEMAN who says to the Speaker of Congress, (Col. Polk) 'Go home, G—d d—n you, where you belong.'"

"Such are the qualifications which constitute Mr. Clay a *Simon Pure* in the eyes of conism, and entitle him to their support. What say the people?"

Now, sir, I wish you to take notice that this debate has been forced upon us by the whigs. They have provoked us to carry the war into Africa, to place them and their candidate on the defensive. We have done so, and we will keep him there. The gentleman from Tennessee, [Mr. PERRY] represents our candidate as a "bob-tail pony," and a "grovelling duck in the ditch," while theirs is represented as a gallant race-horse at one moment, and at the next a "towering eagle flying through the sun." Of him, for myself, I express no opinion—because I have but a poor one; but for the purpose of clipping a little the wings of this "eagle," I show you what friends and foes have said of him.

Some of the whigs pretend that they do not know "who this James K. Polk is." Well, if they want to see him, they will find him at the White House after the 4th of March next. It is true he is not so notorious for some things as their candidate is; and it is not part of my business to enlighten wilful ignorance; yet, as I am in a good humor, and desire to be accommodating as possible, I will call one witness to the stand to testify concerning his knowledge of Mr. Polk. As I have only time to examine one witness, I will produce one that the whigs can give no good reason for disbelieving; I will refer them to the letter of John Banks, late whig candidate for governor in Pennsylvania. I suppose my colleague knows him. The following letter was addressed to Speaker Polk, by Judge Banks, at the time Mr. Banks resigned his seat in Congress:

"March 31, 1836.
"Sir: In communicating to you my resignation, I cannot refrain from assuring you of the very high estimation in which I hold you individually, and of my entire approbation of your conduct and deportment as presiding officer of the House. I will add that, in my judgment, you discharged all the arduous duties of the chair with a degree of liberality, impartiality, ability, and dignity, which did honor to yourself, and also to the body over which you presided.
"Very respectfully, yours, &c.,
"JOHN BANKS."

Do gentlemen expect the confidence and support of the people for their candidate, for having broken all the promises which they made during the last canvass for the presidency? In 1840 the whig leaders made the following promises:

That they would appoint no members of Congress to office.

That they would make no removals for opinion's sake.

That they would reduce the expenditures.

That they would pay off the national debt.

That they would separate the "purse and the sword" from the hands of the executive.

That they would make a sound and uniform national currency.

That they would "regulate the exchanges."

That they would raise the prices of produce.

That they would increase the wages of labor.

That they would "relieve the people."

Not one of these promises have been fulfilled.

I do not approve of the mode of reasoning resort-

ed to by our opponents; but it was a maxim of the father of his country, that it was justifiable to meet the enemy with their own weapons. I have somewhere met with the following, about

TWO DOLLARS A DAY AND ROAST BEEF.

In the year eighteen hundred and forty,

The song of promised relief,

Which was sung to the poor by the haughty,

Was "two dollars a day and roast beef."

Then the banners were flying and streaming;

To reason the people were deaf,

They went through the universe screaming

"Two dollars a day and roast beef."

Medals, sashes, and badges now flourished,

With portraits betokening grief:

The wearers hoped they should be nourish'd

With "two dollars a day and roast beef."

The woodchuck, the skunk, and the coon, too,

And the fox, that inveterate thief,

Lent their skins to the whigs, with this tune, too—

"Two dollars a day and roast beef."

They swigg'd and they guzzled hard cider,

In masses beyond all belief;

'Mid the fumes, their mouths opened wider—

"Two dollars a day and roast beef!"

The star then above the horizon

Was soon overshadow'd with grief;

For the people have never set eyes on

"Two dollars a day and roast beef."

The pledges were broken—truth banished!

Where now was the promised relief?

The dream of "two dollars" had vanished,

And also the hope of "roast beef."

My democratic friend from Ohio [Mr. DUNCAN] having presented the banners under which you "stooped to conquer" in the last contest, I will not stop to comment upon them; but will refer you to the YOUNG HICKORY, under whose branches the democracy will rally, and go forth to certain victory.

Four members of Congress received cabinet offices on the very day General Harrison was inaugurated; and the number since appointed and confirmed by the Senate, is probably greater than was appointed in the same time by any former administration.

More removals have been made on account of po-

litical principles, than under any former President. Mr. Granger, the new whig Postmaster General, boasted of having removed 1,700 postmasters during the six months he was in office, (being at the rate of about 100 per day,) and declared that he would have removed 1,700 more, had he held the office six months longer.

The expenditures during Mr. Van Buren's last year were \$22,351,147. During the first year of the "retrenchment" whigs, they were \$26,394,243; and during the next two years, averaged near \$25,000,000!!!

The national debt, when Mr. Van Buren retired, was about \$5,000,000. Now it is over \$25,000,000! And had not President Tyler interposed his veto, it would have been near \$50,000,000.

Under Mr. Van Buren, a law was passed imposing a fine and penalty on all officers who used the public moneys for private purposes; and thus effectually separated what the whigs call the "purse and sword." This law the whigs forthwith repealed, and provided no substitute. So that the "purse and sword," if their own representations were correct, are still in the hands of the President.

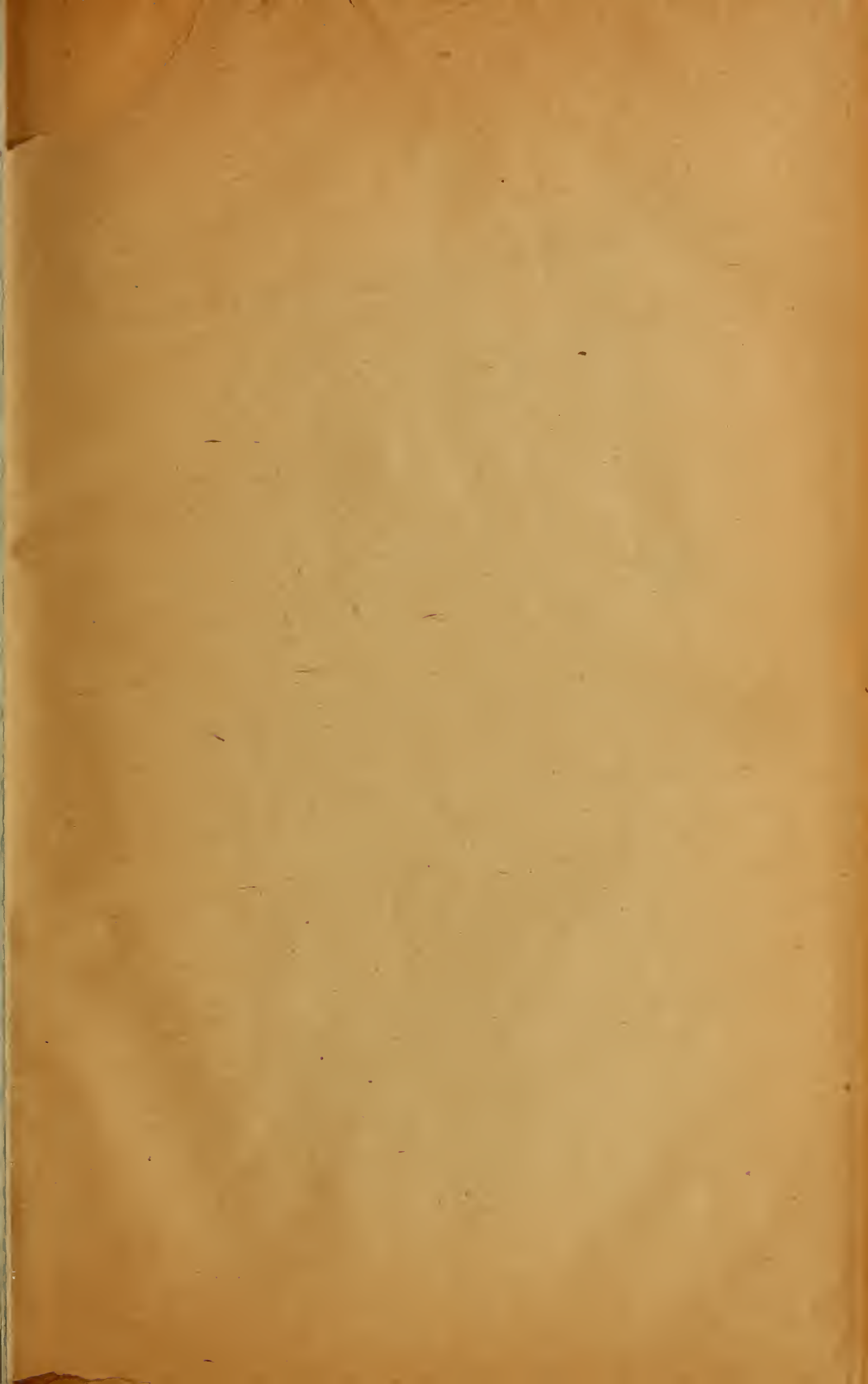
The currency is more sound and uniform than it was at any time during the existence of the national bank—but no thanks to the whig Congress. It rejected a bill requiring the banks in the District to resume specie payments, and repealed an act which Mr. Clay admitted would furnish "the best redeemable currency in the world."

The exchanges are also more favorable than they were under the regulation of the national bank; but not in consequence of anything done by the whig Congress. They have been "regulated" chiefly by the resumption of specie payments, and the increased coinage and circulation of gold, which the whig leaders everywhere opposed.

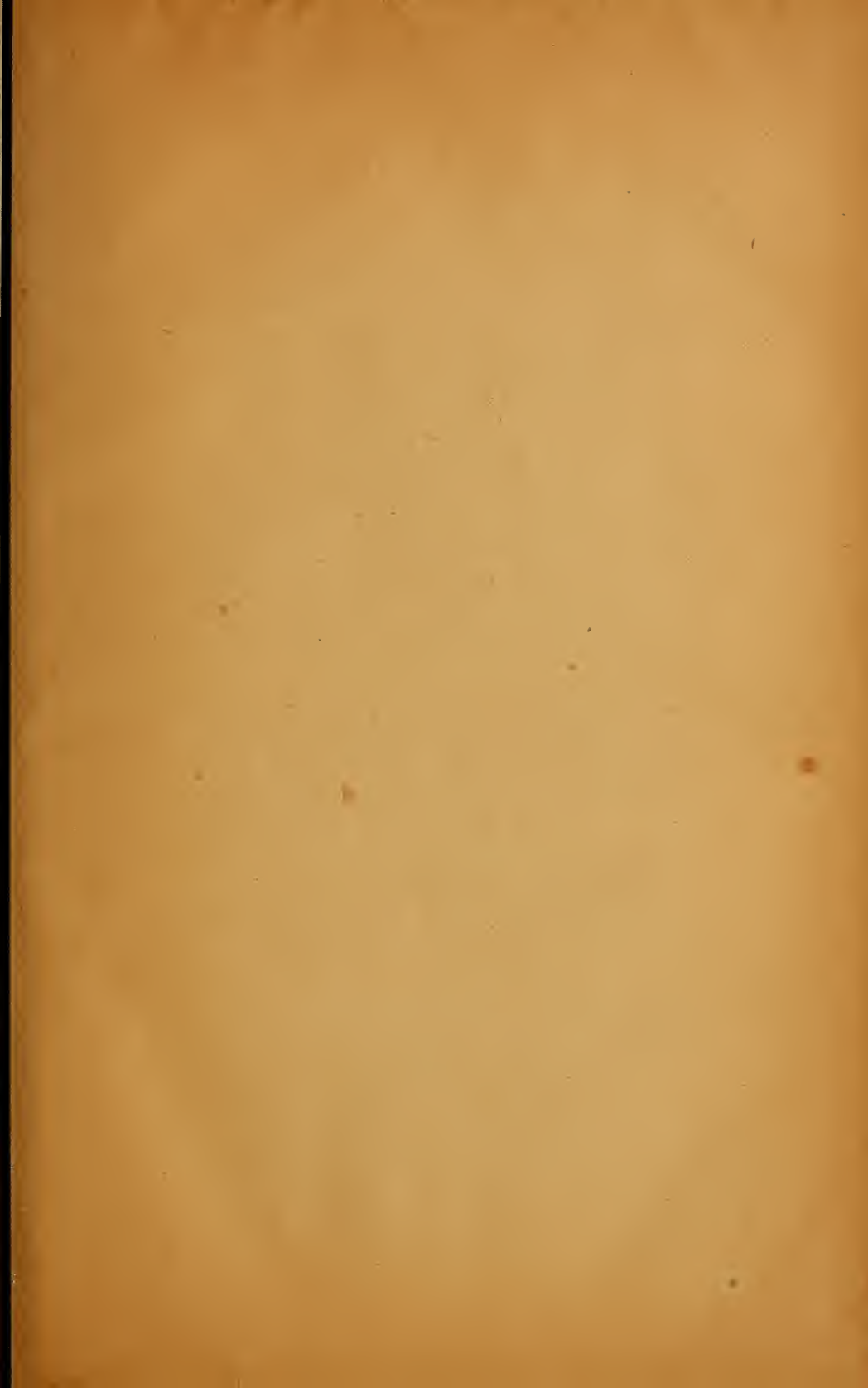
Most, if not all, their promises were violated in like manner, and for these "breaches of promise" they will be convicted and condemned by the people—the high court of error and appeals—at the fall sessions, which are to be convened throughout the circuit of the Union for the purpose of their trial, and from which tribunal they cannot hope to escape.

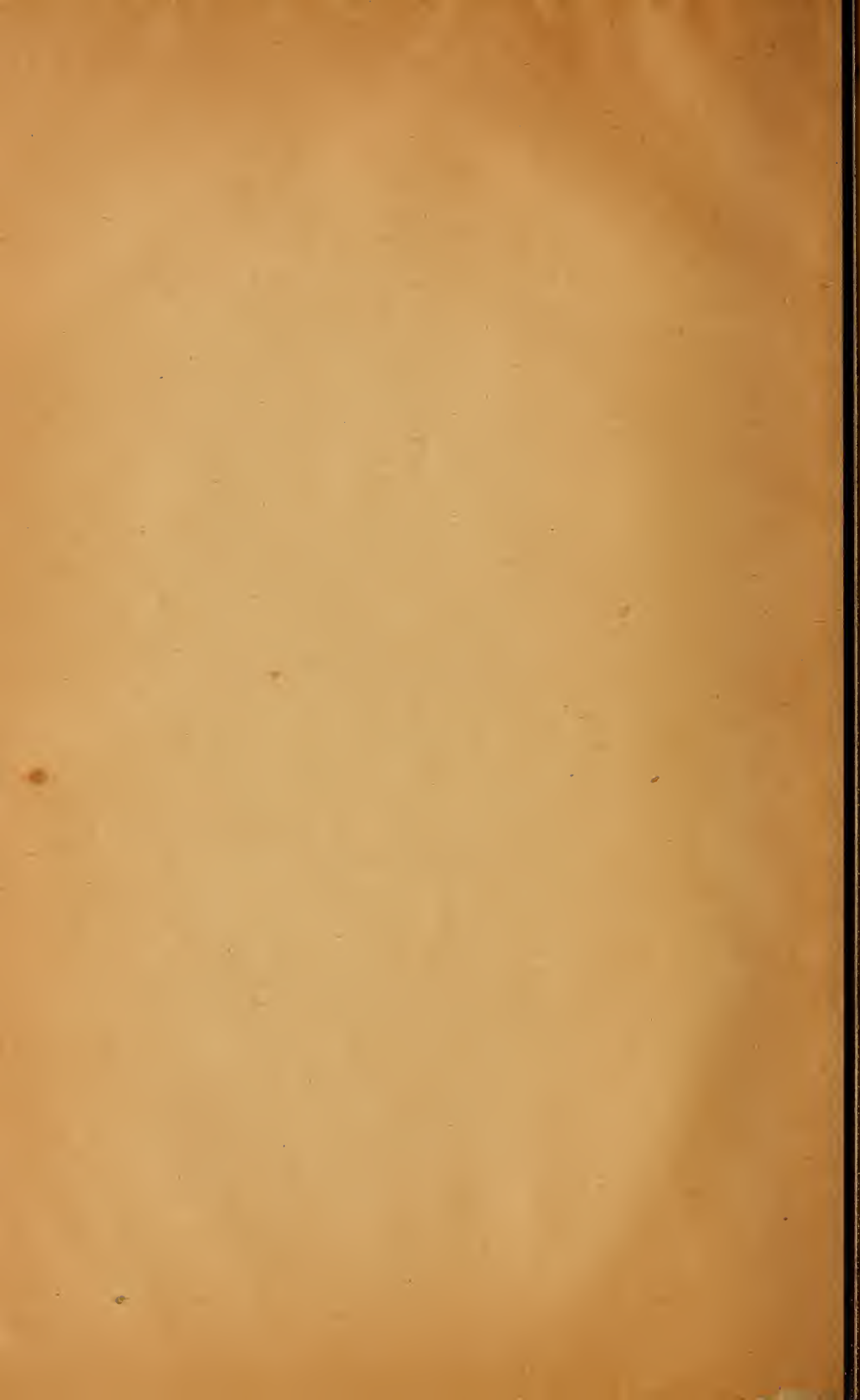
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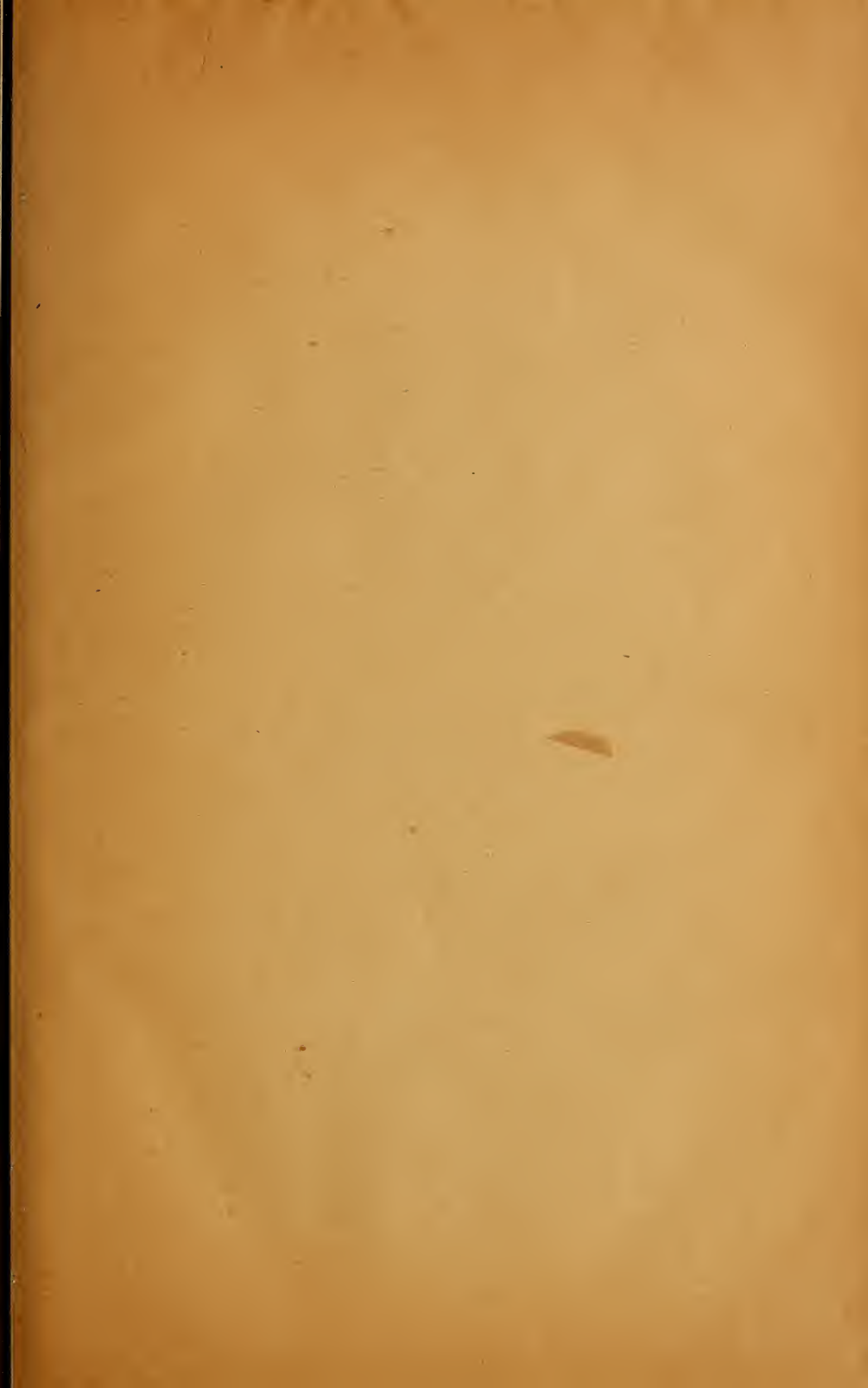
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JK2317
1844a

Bidlack, Benjamin Alden, 1804-1849.

Speech of Mr. Bidlack, of Pennsylvania, in reply to the political attacks that had been made upon the nominees of the Democratic convention, and in defence of the Young Hickory: Jas. K. Polk ... delivered in the House of representatives, June 4, 1844. Washington, Printed at the Globe office, 1844.

13 p. 22 $\frac{3}{4}$ cm.

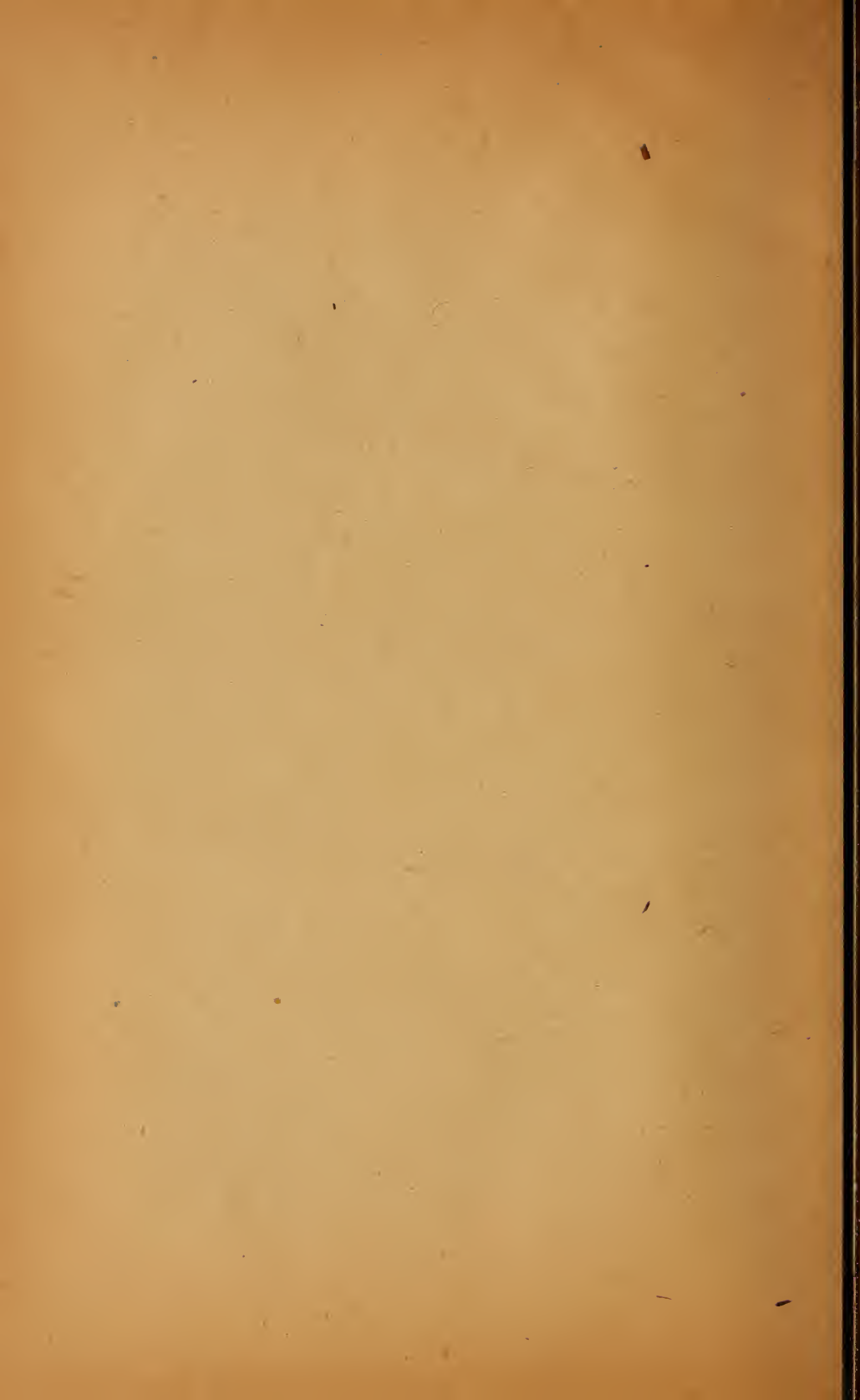
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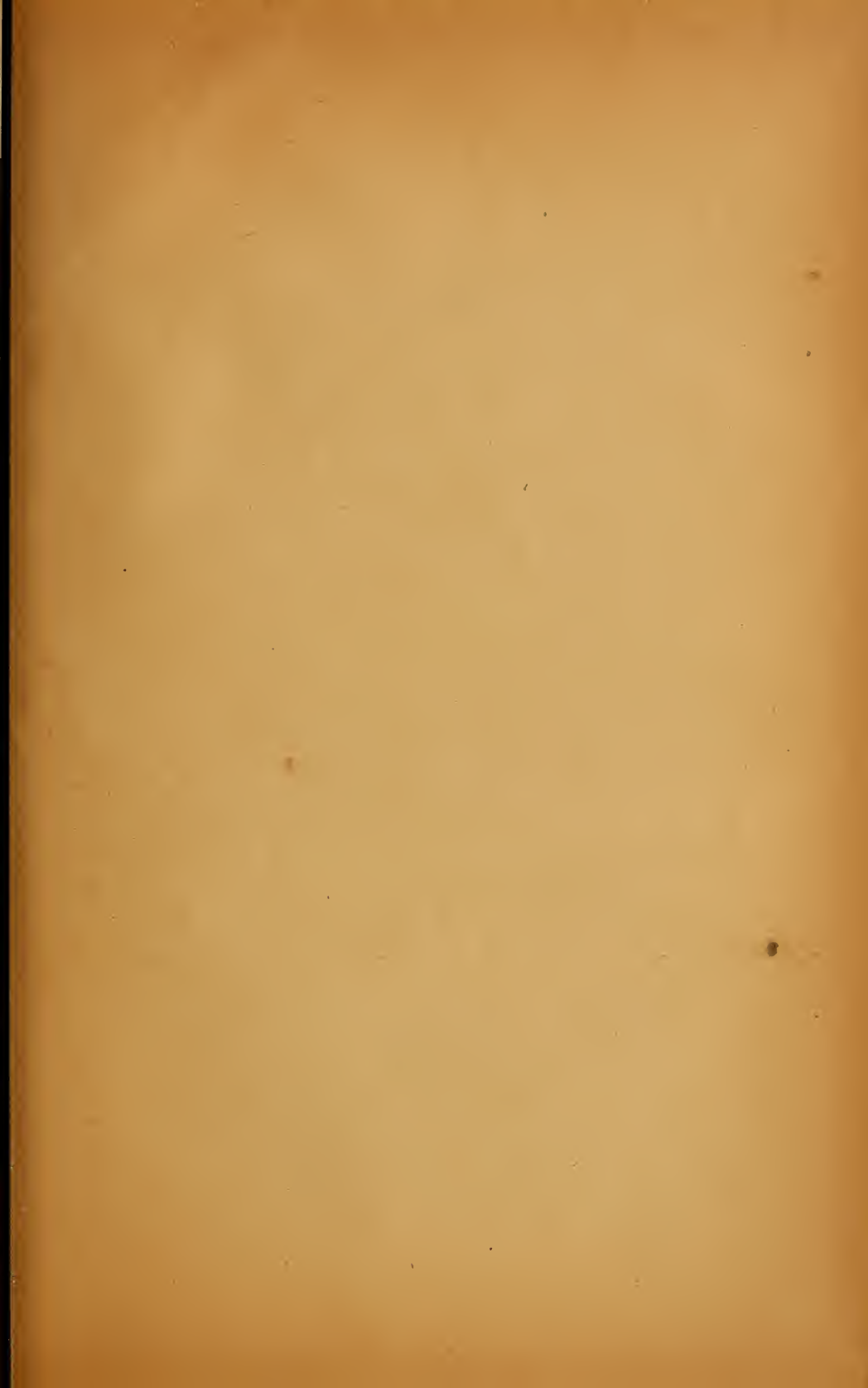
1. Campaign literature, 1844 — Democratic. 2. Polk, James Knox, pres. U. S., 1795-1849.

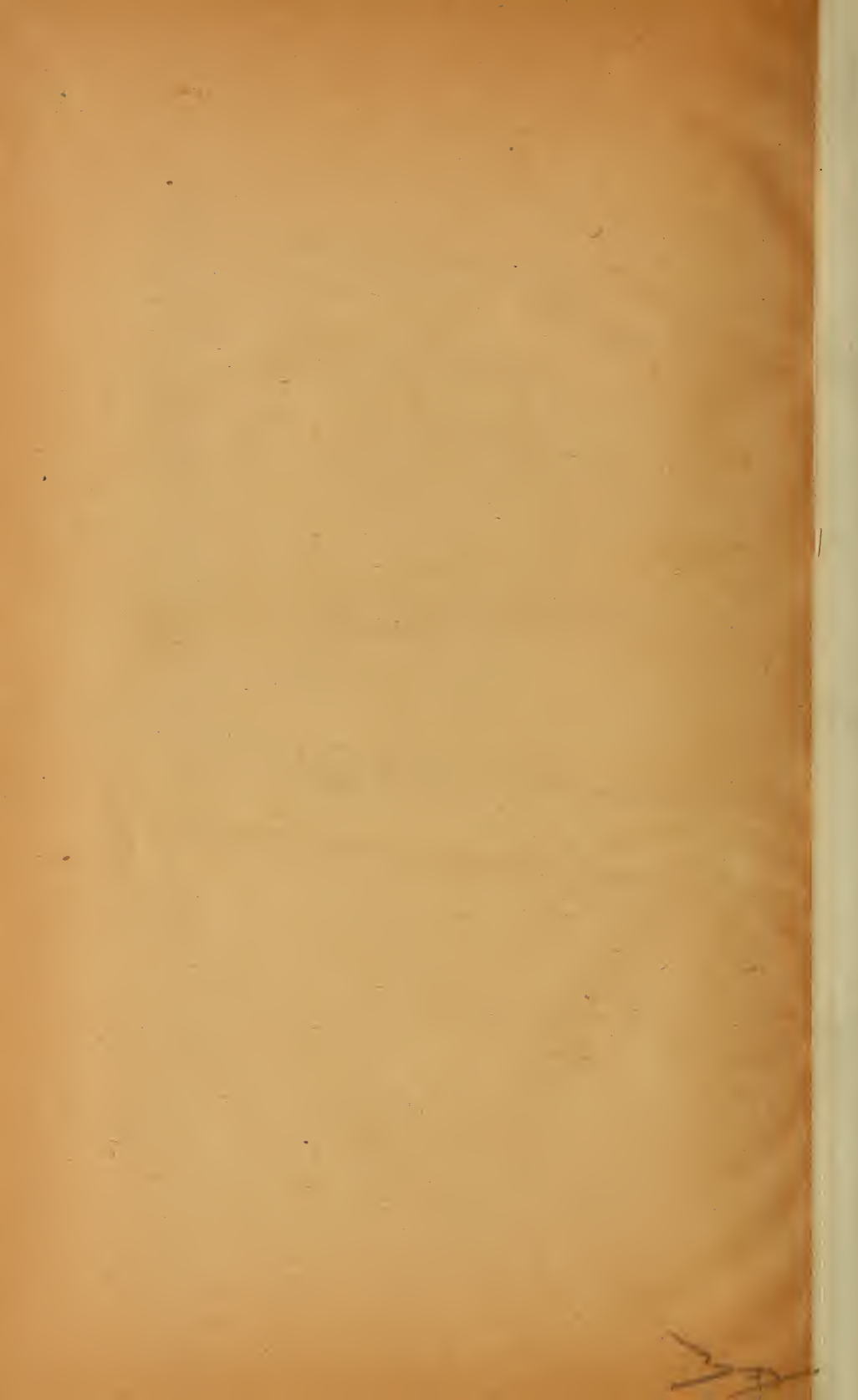
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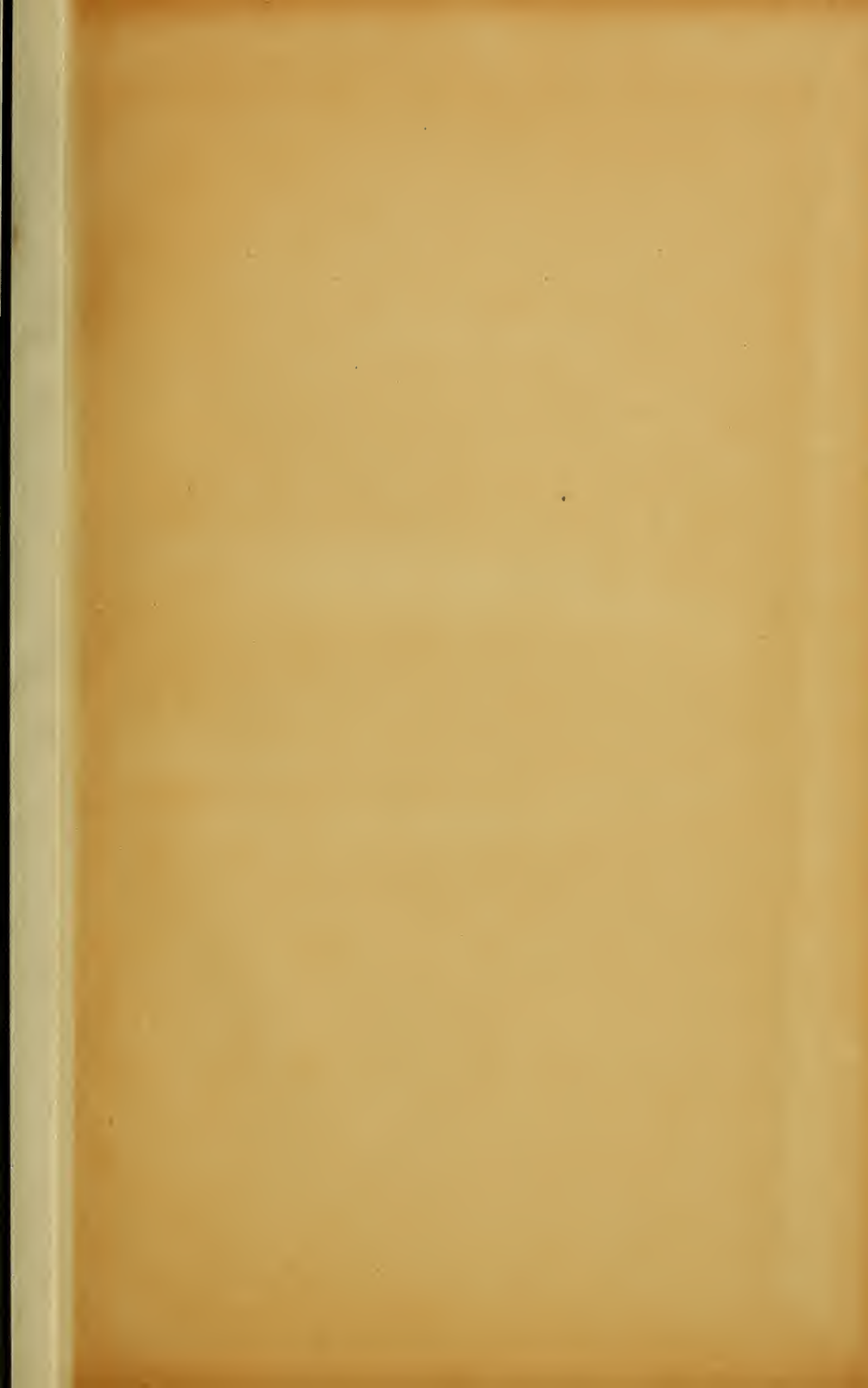
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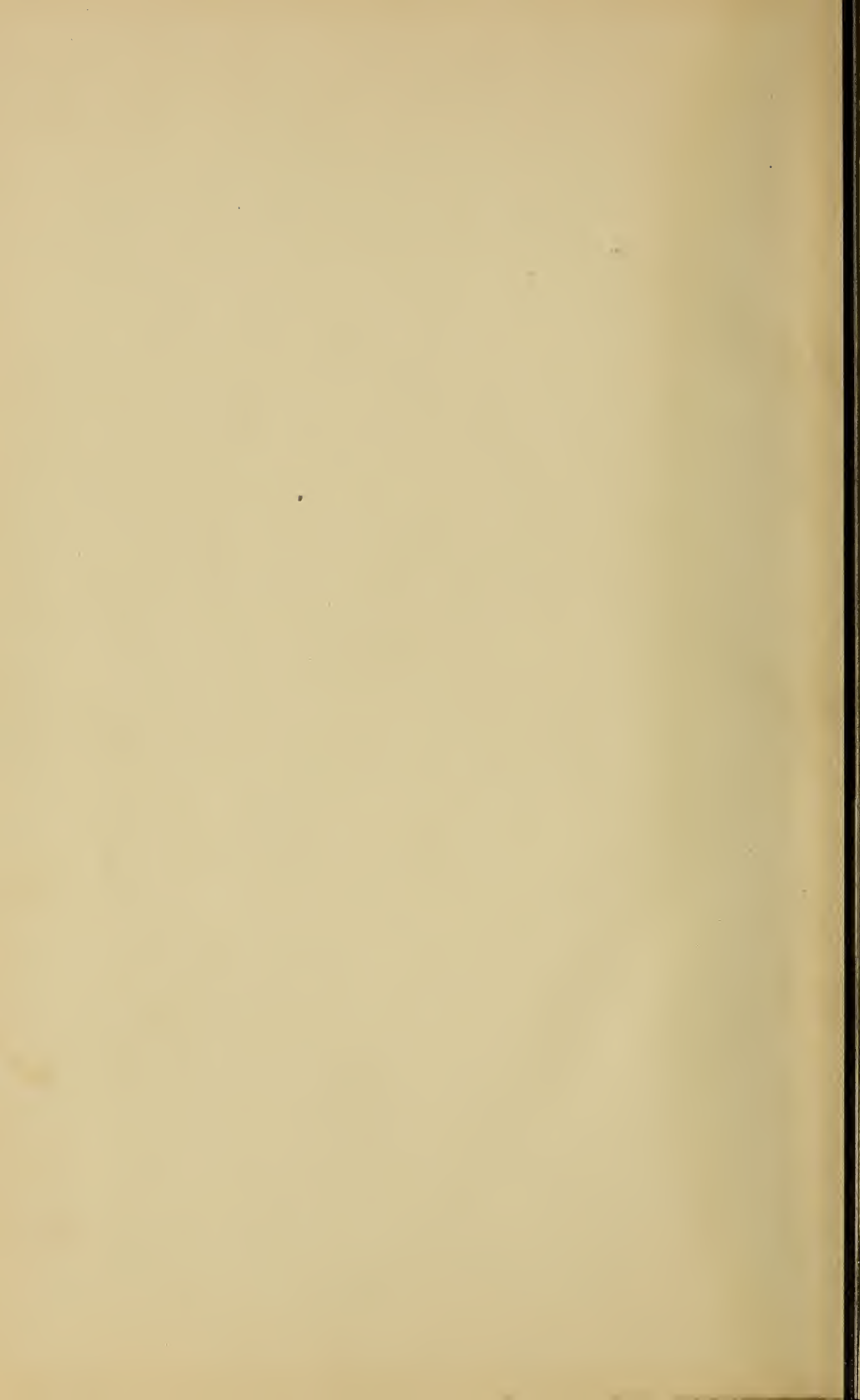
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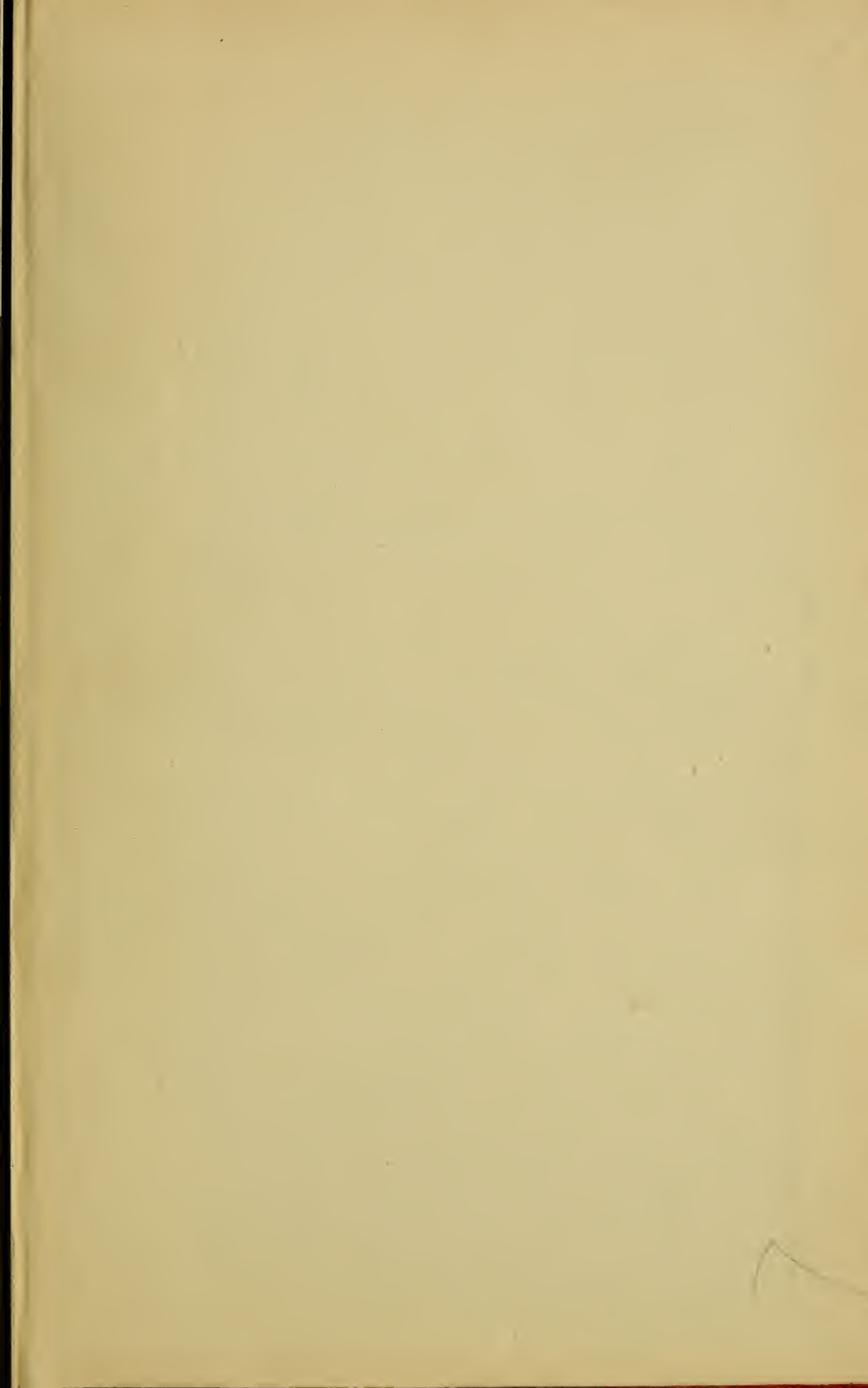




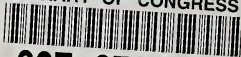








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